

The "Sabbath War" of 1865-66: The Shaking of the Foundations

R. DOUGLAS BRACKENRIDGE, PH.D.

ONE of Scotland's most significant religious wars began exactly one hundred years ago. Quite likely, however, its centenary will pass unnoticed. Few living today can recount its battles or recall its participants. Yet the "Sabbath War" of 1865-66 thrust the great churchman Norman MacLeod into prominence and produced the first significant victory in the long struggle to bring about a relaxation of stringent Victorian Sabbatarianism. Since the "Scottish Sabbath" continues to be a subject of discussion and debate within and without the Kirk, it is only fitting that the Victorian "Sabbath War" be re-examined from a mid-twentieth-century perspective. In this way it may be possible to shed some light on contemporary problems as well as illuminate the ramifications of the "War" itself. To accomplish this it is first necessary to sketch very briefly the social and religious context in which the "War" was fought.

Even to the casual observer Scotland of the 1860s appeared to be doggedly if not fanatically Sabbatarian in theory and practice. There was little evidence to suggest that before the decade was over the seemingly impregnable foundations of Scottish Sabbatarianism would be severely shaken. For these were the days of drawn window blinds, shutting out the very sight of the world and all its fascinations from Sabbath-keeping families; days of silent streets when an evening walk was deemed dangerously frivolous. To the devout Victorian Christian, the Sabbath was almost a third sacrament. In most religious circles, its strict observance was deemed an essential outward sign of inward piety and zeal.

The strength and vitality of Sabbatarianism in the 'sixties was displayed whenever the growing secularism of the time encroached on the sanctity of the day of rest. In 1863 when a movement was initiated to open the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens to the public on Sunday afternoons 36,000 people signed petitions opposing the action. The various assemblies and synods of the Scottish churches protested vociferously with the result that the House of Commons, by a slim majority of thirteen votes

ruled that the gates should be kept closed.¹ In the same year a visit of the Channel Fleet to the port of Leith occasioned a public inspection of the vessels on Sunday afternoon. Sabbatarian forces reacted so sharply and bitterly that the Admiralty was forced to promise publicly that such a thing would not happen in the future.² Although elders no longer patrolled the streets on Sunday as they had done in an earlier age, other methods proved to be equally efficient. When two noted prize fighters attempted to have a Sunday afternoon encounter in one of the Glebe fields of Govan in 1862, Matthew Leishman, dressed in full ministerial garb, "strode into the ring, and after rebuking the crowd for their desecration of God's day and threatening the leaders with a Sheriff's Warrant, ordered them all off the ground, and they went—like lambs".³ In Edinburgh in 1865 an indignant citizen complained of the restrictions imposed on Sunday recreations by members of the local police force:

"I chanced to pass St. Margaret's Loch, which to my astonishment, I found guarded against the profanation of Sunday sliding by ten or twelve policemen. I counted ten, and rather think there were a dozen, perambulating in pairs around the margin of the pond. Is Sunday sliding a statutory offence in Scotland?"⁴

Needless to say, his protest went unheeded and his question unanswered. Few, however, could equal the piety of one earnest Sabbatarian who suggested that the lamplighters of Edinburgh be freed from Sunday labour by lighting the lamps on Saturday night and extinguishing them on Monday morning. "But what is the expenditure of a few pounds," he exclaimed, "compared to the relieving of the poor lamplighters of their Sunday toil?"⁵

It would be foolish to assert, therefore, that the bastions of Scottish Sabbatarianism suddenly came crashing down in the 1860s. Concern for the Sabbath was too deep-rooted to permit that. Furthermore, the belief that a "Continental Sunday" was the only alternative to a "Scottish Sabbath" inhibited even the more liberal-minded individuals from encouraging a relaxation of Sabbatarian standards. Though the numerical strength of Sabbatarianism might be waning, its influence was still great. Because he had been labelled "a benighted Anti-Sabbatarian", young Marcus Dods had good reason to fear that such an appellation could

¹ *Free Church Assembly Proceedings*, 1863, pp. 312, 325-9.

² Thomas Smith, *Memoirs of James Begg* (Edinburgh, 1888), vol. II, pp. 359-60.

³ James F. Leishman, *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843* (Paisley, 1921), pp. 219-20.

⁴ *Scotsman*, 30th January, 1865.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15th September, 1865.

"considerably damage" his future career.¹ It was only the venturesome personality in Victorian times who dared to speak boldly against the institution of the Sabbath, and even then he risked the loss of personal friendships and social standing.

In such a social and religious milieu the so-called "Sabbath War" had its origins. The first phase of the "War" began in 1865 when the peace and tranquillity of Sabbatarian Scotland was disturbed by the North British Railway Company. In a move obviously intended to test the power of the Sabbatarians, the North British in January introduced a regularly scheduled service of Sunday goods trains. (Prior to this they had run a few surreptitiously.) Reaction to this "flagrant breach" of the Sabbath was immediate and unrestrained. At a meeting of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Edinburgh early in February, Andrew Thomson brought the action of the North British to the attention of the public. He reported with dismay that there were four goods trains operating on the North British line on Sunday; one left at 12.30 a.m. for Berwick; one at 2 p.m. for Carlisle; and one at 7 p.m. for Fife which later separated into two sections. These, he announced, were in addition to nine passenger trains going to various points in Scotland.² Although it was obvious that the North British was not the only offender in this regard (the Caledonian and the Glasgow and South Western were also culpable), it was singled out as the greatest enemy of the Scottish Sabbath par excellence because of its prominent place in the transport world. Presbyteries and synods of all denominations campaigned unceasingly against the innovations of the North British. Public meetings were held in most large cities to encourage a united action against a common foe. In spite of all the popular support evidenced at these gatherings, efforts to curtail the goods trains proved to be fruitless. The company steadfastly refused to move from its argument that the trains were now a necessity in the ever-increasing complexity of an industrialised society.³

The agitation might have ended at this juncture as the running of goods trains on the North British and other lines was a *fait accompli*. Fuel was added to the smouldering embers of Sabbatarian resentment, however, by a rumour in the spring of 1865 that there would soon be an amalgamation of the North British and the Glasgow and Edinburgh Railway Companies. The latter's line had been firmly closed to Sunday traffic

¹ Marcus Dods, *Early Letters of Marcus Dods* (London, 1910), p. 314.

² *Scotsman*, 8th February, 1865.

³ For accounts of these meetings see *Scotsman*, 5th January, 11th January, 2nd February, and 4th May, 1865. For the reasoning of the railway directors see *Scotsman*, 6th January and 24th March, 1865.

since 1846, and as long as it remained so, Sabbatarians could hope that others would follow its example.¹ Now it was widely feared that even this testimony against Sunday travel would be silenced if the anti-Sabbatarian leaders of the North British (many of whom were English) took over control and ownership of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Company. When the amalgamation was discussed at a meeting of the Glasgow and Edinburgh shareholders in March, the Rev. James Meiklem of Glasgow inquired whether a union with the North British would ultimately mean the resumption of Sunday trains. The chairman, Mr. Peter Blackburn replied unambiguously: "There is nothing whatever in the agreement with the North British that puts it in their power to compel us to run trains on Sunday".² This assurance from a man of known Sabbatarian sympathies quieted the fears of the opponents of Sunday trains. In routine fashion the merger was approved as with effect from 1st August, 1865.

No sooner had the merger been completed than rumours circulated that in spite of the assurances to the contrary, Sunday trains would soon be reinstated on the Glasgow and Edinburgh line. The *Edinburgh Scotsman*, always advocating a wider range of Sunday activities, cheerfully gave substantiation to the deepest fears of the Sabbatarians late in August:

"It has now become known that the Edinburgh and Glasgow section of the NBR will soon be opened for Sunday passenger trains. The service will begin, we understand, on Sunday week, the 3rd September, and will consist of a parliamentary train from Edinburgh to Glasgow at seven in the morning, and five in the evening. Besides these, fast trains, being continuations of the mail trains from the south, will leave Edinburgh at nine a.m. and Glasgow at 8.30 p.m."³

Once again the gauntlet had been thrown down by the North British and once again the Sabbatarian forces took up the challenge with alacrity. Public meetings, similar to the ones held in protest against the running of goods trains, only much larger and much louder, were held in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Sabbath-protection societies circulated memorials denouncing the "overt Sabbath profanation". Synods and presbyteries issued threats and passed resolutions against the railway directors, but to no avail. The directors calmly ignored all complaints and awaited the public reaction when the Sunday service was initiated.

¹ This is the present line that runs between Queen Street Station in Glasgow and Waverley Station in Edinburgh.

² *Scotsman*, 15th March, 1865.

³ *Scotsman*, 24th August, 1865. There were some minor variations from the proposed schedule. See *Scotsman*, 1st September 1865.

Sunday morning, 3rd September, 1865, dawned clear and bright. A reporter for the *Scotsman* took up his position at the North British railway station in Edinburgh prepared to give a vivid eye-witness account of the first Sunday train to run directly between Edinburgh and Glasgow in almost twenty years.¹ Much to his chagrin there was no commotion or disturbance. The hiss of escaping steam and the belch of black smoke coupled with a jaunty toot of the whistle were the only sounds that shattered the silence of the normal Sabbath calm. Reports indicated that approximately seventy passengers left with the 8 a.m. train and about twenty with the 9 a.m. train. The morning train from Glasgow carried about 100 people and the evening one about 120. Only in the evening was anything resembling a disturbance created. A large crowd gathered outside the station in Edinburgh to hear a fiery street preacher shout at the departing travellers, "There they go to hell at a penny a mile". His oratory fell on deaf ears. Sunday trains on the Glasgow and Edinburgh line had come to stay.²

Notwithstanding their failure to stop Sunday trains, Sabbatarians stubbornly refused to consider their cause futile. The united front which the churches had displayed in fighting their battle had been encouraging, and hopes were expressed that the situation might yet improve. In order to keep this feeling at a high level, the Established Presbytery of Glasgow issued a *Pastoral Letter* in November, 1865, which urged constituents of the Presbytery to "sanctify the Sabbath" and to use all means in their power to hold the line against further encroachments on the Sabbath. Compared to much of the Sabbatarian literature of the period the *Pastoral Letter* was quite innocuous. The controversy it provoked, however, ushered in the second and most significant phase of the "Sabbath War".³

The situation became explosive when Dr. Norman MacLeod, prominent minister of the Barony Church in Glasgow, publicly opposed the action of the Presbytery. On 16th November, 1865, MacLeod made a memorable three-and-a-half-hour speech denouncing what he considered Pharisaical attitudes toward the observance of the Lord's Day. With all the fervour of his Celtic temperament, MacLeod overstated his case in such a way that he was left open to misunderstanding and criticism. His appearance as spokesman against the Sabbatarians was the great sensation

¹ One could always travel between Glasgow and Edinburgh via the Caledonian Railway although this involved a change of trains at Carstairs and took a little over four hours to make the trip. See *Murray's Guide* for these years.

² *Scotsman*, 4th September, 1865.

The text of the *Pastoral Letter* is given in the *Report of Proceedings of the Established Church Presbytery*, Glasgow, 16th November, 1865 (Glasgow, 1865), pp. 6-8.

of the time. Yet in reality he said little that was new or startling. Robert Lee had spoken in similar terms on the floor of General Assembly back in 1847, as had Robert Story and William Milligan before the same body in 1863.¹ Nevertheless, newspapers were quick to emphasise the remarkable assertions that the respected Doctor had made, especially the more destructive sections of his oratorical efforts. The *Scotsman*, for example, included in its account of the speech these words:

"If you ask me, then, to keep the Sabbath law, you must prove to me, as being under law to Christ, that I am to keep it as contained in the law of life which is in Christ, or as sanctioned or enacted by the Master. What precept, what duty imposed on me as a Christian, do I fail to find in Christ, that I must go back to an earlier stage of his kingdom and government in order to find it? Where, then, is His authority for keeping the Sabbath law of the 4th Commandment after His resurrection? In vain I ask! It has died out with the old economy. The Passover has gone, without even formal abrogation, and we have the Lord's Supper; circumcision has died out, and we have baptism; the Sabbath has died out, and we have the Lord's day . . . The Sabbath has sunk gradually beneath the horizon, as His worship and the first day of the week have risen with himself from the grave; while high above all times and seasons, all days, weeks, months, and years, rises Jesus Christ himself as my life—its source, its expressions, its end, its all in all."²

In spite of what he had said in his speech, the Barony pastor had a profound respect for the strict observance of Sunday. He questioned not the fact of Sunday observance, only the motivating factors behind it, "I will yield to no man living," he asserted, "my profound thankfulness for the Lord's Day and all its sacred influences; nor do I wish, God forbid, to weaken them, but to strengthen them."³ Unfortunately such statements went unheeded. Because of his polemic against the institution of the Scottish Sabbath MacLeod became to many sincerely religious people an object of suspicion and dislike. His biographer reported that MacLeod's desk "was loaded with letters remonstrating with him, abusing him, cursing him. Ministers of the Gospel passed him without recognition; one of these, more zealous than the rest, hissed him in the street".⁴ A satirical poem published anonymously in 1866 indicated the hostility felt

¹ See Robert Story, *Life and Remains of Robert Lee* (London, 1870), vol. I, pp. 129-30, and *Glasgow Herald*, 3rd June, 1863.

² *Scotsman*, 17th November, 1865.

³ Donald MacLeod, *Memoir of Norman MacLeod* (London, 1876), vol. II, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 190.

toward him and all others who advocated a relaxation of Sabbatarian standards. The poem, *Norman's Blast: A Rejected Contribution to Good Works*, accused MacLeod of attempting to nullify the Ten Commandments and all standards of moral conduct.

When Tulloch, Lee, and you agreed
To start a free-and-easy creed,
You've nobly dared, and ta'en the lead
An' fired the heather.
But ere the breeze blows up, tak' heed
An' slack your tether.

"Now all fast lads and lasses free,
Who love a lark and Sunday's spree,
Let's drink to him who bears the gree
Amang the crowd;
Fill up a bumper—three times three—
Norman MacLeod!"

In his battle against Judaistic elements in Scottish Sabbatarianism, however, MacLeod did not stand alone. There were many others, especially among the clergy, who shared his outlook even if they deplored his methods. William Milligan of Aberdeen commented, "Different opinions as to observing the Sabbath might be entertained by the most sincere and devoted Christian men."¹ John Eadie, popular leader in the United Presbyterian Church, wrote to MacLeod, "I have always held and preached a similar doctrine as to the relation of the Fourth Commandment to the Lord's day".² Other prominent ecclesiastical figures such as Tulloch, Lee, and Burns all publicly defended MacLeod's basic principles. The reaction of his cousin, MacLeod Campbell, however, was typical. Writing to his eldest daughter in November, 1865, he referred to Norman's outburst in the following terms:

"While I am fully persuaded that he is right as to the passing away of the Sabbath known by that name in Scripture, and the coming of the Lord's Day as the day to be marked as a religious day in the Christian Church, I would not have felt any call to disturb men's minds on the subject, but have felt it is enough to raise the spiritual tone of their observance of Sunday, and to free it from superstitious gloom. And this is what really he would have desired. But now

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 3rd June, 1863.

² James Brown, *Life of John Eadie* (London, 1878), pp. 165-6.

things will not settle down to what is desirable without his wading through a sea of troubles."¹

The "sea of troubles" envisaged by Campbell proved to be nothing more than a fordable stream. The pamphlet war which followed on the heels of MacLeod's speech evoked more heat than light and soon dissipated its strength. MacLeod escaped from the controversy unscathed. His personal reputation and high Christian character saved him from becoming a victim of the ecclesiastical courts. The Presbytery of Glasgow was satisfied with pronouncing and recording an admonition, and the General Assembly of 1866, despite strong pressure, did not move for censure. By 1868 the animosity which had been aroused over his speech had so subsided that MacLeod was receiving invitations to speak at Free Church missionary meetings! His own church honoured him in 1869 by electing him Moderator of the General Assembly. This treatment of MacLeod was itself an indication that times were changing. The immediate circumstances of the "Sabbath War" were soon forgotten by friend and foe alike.

Although the Sabbath tradition was much too strong to be undermined in one assault, it is fair to say that the "Sabbath War" shook its foundations so severely that it was only a matter of time until the superstructure began to topple. Not only had Sunday trains been tacitly accepted as necessary in an industrialised society, but the Sabbath and its relationship to the Fourth Commandment had been publicly questioned by a leading figure in the Established Church. The resulting discussions raised disturbing questions in the minds of sincerely religious people as to the validity of the Kirk's traditional stand on Sabbath observance. The "Sabbath War" set in motion a chain of events that ultimately meant the end of Victorian Sabbatarianism, at least in its most rigorous aspects.

The re-opening of the Glasgow-Edinburgh line to Sunday traffic in 1865 was a signal for others to follow in its stead. The Glasgow and South-Western Company, which had lines in Nithsdale and Galloway, introduced Sunday trains in 1869 after earlier attempts had proved abortive.² In 1875 a Free Church investigation of the Caledonian Railway in Glasgow revealed that on Sunday there were at least twenty-two trains, six conveying passengers and the rest goods or minerals.³ The Glasgow and Greenock Company, which had not run a train on Sunday in all its

¹ Donald Campbell, *Memorials of John MacLeod Campbell* (London, 1877), vol. II, p. 115.

² *Free Church Assembly Proceedings*, 1870, o. 298.

³ *Sabbath Labour at the Iron Works* (Glasgow, 1875), p. 15.

forty-four year history, capitulated to the trend of the times in 1884.¹ By the end of the century the number of Sunday trains had greatly increased and people were less reluctant to use them.

The introduction of horse-drawn trams in Glasgow in 1879 was a further indication that the Kirk would no longer categorically condemn the use of public transport on Sunday as it had before the "Sabbath War". The Established Presbytery of Glasgow justified Sunday trams because of the "altered condition and exigencies of modern society", and as "a timely and partial concession to the growing wants and wishes of the population". Only the "indiscriminate running" of trams was condemned.² Even the Free Presbytery of Glasgow, traditionally a staunch defender of the Sabbath, showed signs of softening. When the Presbytery's Sabbath Observance Committee presented a report which condemned Sunday trams and urged that ministers in the Presbytery be required to warn their congregations not to use trams or any other mode of travel on the Sabbath, Dr. Bruce of Trinity College immediately voiced opposition. He did not approve of the harsh terms of the report and stated that he was not able "to affirm as authoritatively as the report did, that there was no necessity for these . . . cars and in connection with that, he thought the report went a little too far in asking the Presbytery to instruct ministers to urge their people act in a particular way". Other ministers rose to the defence of Dr. Bruce. As a result the report was amended to read that the ministers should be "recommended" and not "instructed" to take the course of action prescribed by the Committee.³ Sabbatarianism was mellowing at least to the extent that the definition of "works of necessity" was becoming increasingly liberal in its application to specific circumstances in contemporary society.

There were also indications of a more permissive attitude toward the limited use of recreational facilities on Sunday. Baxter Park in Dundee opened its gates to visitors on Sunday afternoons in spite of sharp protests from local Free Church clergymen.⁴ The Edinburgh Botanic Gardens, which Sabbatarian pressure had kept closed in 1863, opened in 1889.⁵ Toward the end of the century museums in Edinburgh and Glasgow admitted the public after the morning services were finished, and large

¹ *Thirty-Fifth Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association*, p. 16.

² David Pirret, *The Sabbath, the Tramway Cars, and the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1879), pp. 8-9.

³ *Glasgow Herald*, 6th February, 1879.

⁴ James Rollo, *A Century's Record of Ecclesiastical Life in Dundee* (Dundee, 1902), pp. 6-7.

⁵ *Free Church Assembly Proceedings*, 1890, Appendix XXI, pp. 1-2.

crowds gathered to view their interesting displays. Organisations such as the "Sunday Society" which was formed in Glasgow in 1880, sponsored scientific lectures on Sunday afternoons and soon expanded its programme to include vocal and instrumental concerts.¹ In 1882 the "Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association" took cognisance of Scotland's growing anti-Sabbatarian tendencies and prophetically warned its members that "our opponents are united and energetic, and unless we take equally extensive and energetic measures to secure complete organisation, the consequences might be most disastrous to the moral well-being of Scotland".² Pleasure seeking on Sunday continued to increase, however, and little could be done to stop it.

If further evidence is needed to substantiate the claim that the long range effect of the "Sabbath War" was a relaxation of Sabbatarian standards, it can be found in the evidence carefully gathered by the Free Church Sabbath Observance Committee in 1887. Reports from all parts of Scotland (with the exception of the Highlands which was virtually untouched by industrialisation) gave an almost unanimous testimony to declining Sabbath observance. Even making full allowance for the usual hyperbole, the reports left little doubt that religious practices were changing. Typical was the report of the Presbytery of Dundee.

"In regard to Sabbath observance now as compared with what it was 20 or 30 years ago, there can be no question that it has greatly deteriorated. The attendance on public worship in the afternoon has sensibly decreased within the last five years in most Dundee churches . . . There seems to be little doubt that the old reverence for the sacredness of the Lord's Day is breaking down, and that this, along with the depressed state of religious life throughout our country at the present time, is one of the main causes of neglect of public worship. It may be true that the old ideas about Sabbath observance were sometimes narrow, exaggerated, and even Pharisaic, and that a larger and more liberal interpretation was needed of what might be done and left undone on the Sabbath-day. But no one can view, without regret and alarm, the progressive secularizing of that day which God has set apart for His special service, and without due observance of which deep spiritual religion can never flourish in a country or in individual souls."³

¹ *Thirty-Third Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association*, pp. 14-15.

² *Thirty-Eighth Report of the Glasgow Working Men's Sabbath Protection Association*, pp. 26-7.

³ *Free Church Assembly Proceedings*, 1888, Appendix XXI, o. 16.

More than anything else, however, the "Sabbath War" focussed attention on the meaning and significance of the subordinate standards of the Church. Norman MacLeod had seen the possible consequences of his speech against the *Pastoral Admonition* of his presbytery and had communicated his feelings to a close friend.

"The smaller question is fast merging into the higher one of whether we are to gain a larger measure of ministerial liberty in interpreting those points in our Confession which do not touch the essentials of the Christian faith. If the Assembly passes without my being libelled, I shall have gained for the Established Church, and at the risk of my ecclesiastical life, freedom in alliance with law, and for this I shall thank God."¹

Much of the success of Sabbatarian theology stemmed from the almost unquestioned acceptance of the phraseology of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*. Its teaching on the doctrine of the Sabbath had acquired a quasi-sanctity readily absorbed in Sunday Schools and in catechetical instruction at home. When church leaders began to question its reliability and to suggest that it was not binding on Christians, an effective instrument of Sabbatarian inculcation was greatly weakened.

With some justification it can be said that the "Sabbath War" created as many problems as it solved. Yet from a twentieth-century vantage point one can see in the issues which engaged the attention of MacLeod and his opponents at least two trends of far-reaching significance. The first was a definite shift in the theological justification of the "Scottish Sabbath". The Evangelical Revival of the early nineteenth century which gave birth to Victorian piety based its beliefs squarely on the Fourth Commandment. MacLeod's dramatic stand emphasised the New Testament rather than the Old Testament. Basing his thought on James Hessey's Bampton Lecture for 1860 (*Sunday: Its Origin, History, and Present Obligation*), MacLeod carefully differentiated between the Sabbath, "a positive Jewish institution, ordained of God through Moses", and the Lord's Day, "a positive Christian institution, ordained of God through the Apostles".² This change in theological climate was itself sufficient to encourage a relaxation of scrupulous Sabbath observance. Had not the Master himself said, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath. Therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath"? (Mark, 2:27-8).

The second trend which became evident was the altered stance of the

¹ MacLeod, *Memoir of Norman MacLeod*, vol. II, p. 191.

² Hessey, p. 190.

Kirk regarding the industrialised society in which and with which it was forced to live. Prior to the "Sabbath War" industrialism was viewed as an outright opponent of Sabbath observance. Any hint of compromise was considered a traitorous act to the Sabbatarian cause. The Sunday train battle, however, made it clear that such a rigid and unyielding position was no longer tenable. Some adjustment would have to be made. It was only a question of how far and how fast. "The altered conditions and exigencies of modern society", as the Established Presbytery of Glasgow aptly said in 1879, meant that the agrarian-centred institution of the Sabbath was at last coming to terms with its new environment. Although vestiges of Victorianism continued to persist (and do so to this day), the decisive battle had been fought and the future course of the Kirk had been charted.

One hundred years have passed since the "Sabbath War" began. The noise of conflict has long since subsided and the only "war" trophies remaining are yellowing pamphlets collecting dust on library shelves. No longer does the concerned churchman avidly read such works as: *Sabbath Trains: An Appeal to the Public, or A Defence of the Universality and Perpetuity of the Sabbath With a Statement of the Principles of the Sabbath Law and Their Application to the Cases of the Railway and Post Office*. Nevertheless these works continue to bear mute testimony to the intense passions and prejudices of a generation now departed. On their pages is conveyed a picture of a life and death struggle in which the fate of the "Scottish Sabbath" hung in the balance. (Looking back on the epochal years, 1865-66, one can only echo the words of David at the death of Saul, "How are the mighty fallen in the midst of battle" (II Sam. 1:25).)
